252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine region (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

264 Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food, like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts, etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are par-
272 ticularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have
● 484 fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is
[252] mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun.
262 Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed, or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136). The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal is slaughered for its hide which is used for making clothes. More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, policemen, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.
231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy practiced by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs
262 are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

273 easily digested. Barundi men scorn it because of its harmlessness, and it is left for the sick, the women, and the children, among whom it is very popular (No. 19, p. 74).

The fourth type of beer is honey beer (umutobe w'insuki). It resembles lemonade but is nevertheless somewhat alcoholic, so even men like to drink it. It consists of one fifth honey and four fifths water. This is boiled for a short time, and then it is poured into a different vessel and left standing near the fire for a few days without being allowed to boil. Finally it is placed under the open sun for an entire day so as to cause slight fermentation. This is also a tasty and wholesome beverage.

Honey beer and banana cider cannot be preserved for a long time; the latter will keep only for four to five days. For this reason both must be consumed quickly. The first two types mentioned, banana and sorghum beer, do not improve by aging either. They turn sour, the sooner the warmer the place is where they are kept. In mountain areas with a cold climate they will keep for five to six weeks, but in the much more extensive plateau lands they turn sour much sooner. For this reason alone the high time of general drinking is squeezed into the period of a few weeks which are enjoyed all the more strenuously. [Fig. 14 appears here in the original text.]

[62] The Barundi seldom drink beer directly from the pots or from open pumpkin bowls, as is the case among most other East African Negroes. Usually the beer is poured from the [264] pots into calabashes and then sucked out of these by means of straws or reeds (umukenke) in the same manner as we drink iced coffee. The Banjaruanda and Basiba use the same method. Also [484] on trips and marches they carry calabashes of beer with them, [415] together with the necessary tubes which are kept in plaited or carved cases (Fig. 14).

The real beer brewers in Urundi are the Bahutu women, as has already been mentioned, but as far as drinking is concerned, the Bahutu and the Batussi are of equal rank. Most of them are tremendous tipplers who consume 12 to 15 liters of beer a day. The Batwa, too, are hard drinkers if they have beer.

[Text continues on page 93]

502 vice versa. These dugouts also hug the shoreline so that it is possible to punt for the entire distance, which is faster than rowing. [74] It takes them five days to cover the distance between these two points which, measured in a straight line, are approximately 180 kilometers apart. At the present time [136] they only travel at night since the Glossina palpalis, the dreaded transmitter of sleeping sickness, swarms in many places on the lake during the daytime.

484 The provisions for such trips lasting several days are generally taken along from the point of departure. They usually consist of sweet potatoes which are simply piled on the bottom of the boat and boiled whenever the boats land at a resting place.

481 The lake dwellers learn how to swim (kuoga) when they are still children, but because of the crocodiles they do not go into the water very far. People seldom swim in the interior where the rivers have many crocodiles. The swimming stroke is the same among all East African Negroes: with one arm far outstretched, the swimmer throws himself from one side to the other, striking out with only one arm at each stroke.

2. Trade, Money, Weights and Measures

439 In the whole of Urundi, the only trade worth mentioning is in the Tanganyika district. For political reasons, the government has closed off the entire area of central Urundi to foreign trade and traffic. Only a limited number of traveling merchants are permitted. Thus, trade in this area is limited 438 chiefly to the exchange of local products among the natives. With the exception of salt, this trade is not carried on over long distances but only between neighboring communities.

443 In the Tanganyika district of Urundi markets (akaguriro) are held daily in many places due to the influence of the adjacent Congo State. In central Urundi, however, this useful institution is unknown except in the vicinity of missionary stations and at the new residency, Gitega. During the past years, however, in

/21/ A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa

Book I

A Summary Outline of Ruanda and Its Inhabitants

Chapter 1

Physical and Ethnological Make-up of Ruanda.
Political, Familial, and Social Organization of Its Inhabitants.

[3] Ruanda is bound to the north by the Protectorate of Uganda which encloses the Bufumbiro, separated from Ruanda in 1912 by the Anglo-Belgian Commission of Delimitation. /22/

To the northeast it is bound by the Kagera, which runs into Lake Victoria.

The Akanyaru River, which delimits Ruanda to the south and southeast does not enclose the Bugessera. That province, situated at the angle formed by the junction of the Akanyaru and the Kagera, was separated from Urundi, to which it used to belong. It is now divided from it by an artificial line. Nor is the Bungwe enclosed by the southern river, which leaves it to the right.

To the west, Ruanda is separated from the Belgian Congo by Lake Kivu along a length of 120 kilometers. To the northwest the volcanic chain forms a natural boundary beyond which are situated, however, two small provinces, the Bgisha, or Gisigari, and the Jomba, which were joined to Belgian Kivu in 1912.

●484 [317] [825] Such are the approximate boundaries of Ruanda. This does not prevent its inhabitants from extending their contacts well beyond the circle of their own land. They go as far as Lake Edward to fetch salt, which is collected in the marshes near the lake. There they also

purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neighborly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

> 1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neighbors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega. Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

784 A traveler who stubs his left foot against an obstacle or who [484] meets with a rat whose pelt is slightly mottled (umushushwe) must return home, lest misfortune come to him.

If one finds black ants (intozi) on one's path, he must draw his hand over his foot as though to remove them, lest they swarm into his hut.

[843] A pregnant woman must not see a European nor hear the sound of a gunshot, else the child she bears will suffer (1).

1. In order to neutralize this influence, she need only procure a cartridge case, a piece of paper, [751] or even a piece of tile, brick, or any other object of European origin, and wear it around her neck as an amulet or talisman. The child will be born safe from injury.

[842] A woman who has borne only sons may not nurse the daughter of another woman, lest she bear nothing but girls from now on.

A man may not meet with his betrothed or with his mother-in-law prior to marriage (2). The king was formerly forbidden to see [643]

2. Cf. "Cérémonies du mariage /Marriage Ceremonies/," by Fr. Pagès (Anthropos, 1925).

his sons, at least in theory, for it has been proved that the last monarchs often broke this rule.

If the manufacturer of banana wine insults someone while crushing the fruit, he runs the risk of contracting the scurfy disease (guhumana).

A woman must keep silent while kneading sorghum dough. If a dog or chicken dirties the floor of the hut, she is forbidden to leave her work and clean the spot, or the bread may shrink.

If the bottom bananas in a bunch ripen first, the owner of the grove worries because it means that a danger threatens him. /413/

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[778]

to move it, according to local belief, hail would soon avenge this insult to the sacred tool.

The same legend adds that Kigwa's mother immediately bent over the hole to see what had become of her son. The ornamental headdress (urugore) which she wore broke loose and remained suspended in mid-air.

[821]

It is believed that this ornament (originally made of a large sorghum stalk) was the origin of the moon!....

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10. The pomp that surrounds the king on his journeys. Customs observed on such occasions.

In the course of their journeys through the provinces of the realm, Hamitic princes must, in accordance with a centuries-old tradition, stay whenever possible with the Bagessera.

[825]

It will be recalled that the latter's totem is the wagtail, and that a Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/, Mututsi /Batutsi/, or Muhutu /Bahutu/ may not enter a newly built dwelling before the bird has been over the hut or in its immediate vicinity. /496/

According to popular belief, the Bagessera have the privilege of establishing contact with this bird of good omen. The Blacks request members of this clan to use their special ability to attract the wagtail.

The king calls upon them, as does the least of his subjects. It may be on account of this role played by the Bagessera that the sovereign chooses their villages to spend the night.

Another reason why the monarch prefers to stay among them possibly derives from the regard accorded to the members of this tribe, which is believed to be the oldest in Ruanda. They lent their name to the province called Bugessera, where all Bagessera claim to have originated.

644 484 619 In addition, they are the born protectors selected by the Hamitic princes to ward off the bad luck which threatens them in certain circumstances. The Banyarwanda, indeed, have mystic defenders of this sort who are chosen among the members of a tribe alien to theirs.

Those individuals are believed to have the power to ward off the imaginary dangers which threaten human beings. They are called abase (singular umuse). The Banyarwanda call upon their omnipotence at times of death (1), a loss of fortune, the plundering of a herd, the

[764]

1. In the Bugoyi the umuse, or protector, removes from the hut of the deceased the main post upon which the dead owner liked to lean, the piece of wood (umusego) which stands at the head of the bed, the log that was used as a chair, and the small piece of wood that surmounted the roof of the hut. All of this is laid upon the grave.

building of a hut, the giving of a name to a child, his teething, the celebration of a marriage, etc.

Since the Bagessera are the protectors of the Hamitic princes, it is understandable that the monarchs should seek their hospitality.

If there are no members of that family /in the locality/, the king stays with the Bazigaba, whose ancestor Kazigaba was the /497/ brother of Kagessera, founder of the Bagessera clan. If neither are to be found in the area through which the monarch is traveling, the latter resorts, in this order, to the Banyiginya, the Bega, or lastly, the Bakono.

644 484 While traveling, the king is accompanied by an honor guard of Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa, who sleep around the royal hut at night.

[533] Five or six drummers walk at the head of the procession, beating occasionally on their instruments. The drums are also played at nightfall and at the first birdsong in the morning.

644 Appointed cowherds lead before them a small herd of milk
484 cows to provide for the needs of the king.
661 The passage of a prince was formerly tantamount to a disaster for the local inhabitants, who had to harbor the members of the train.

The retinue did not merely include courtiers, the royal guard, sorcerers, and the usual employees. Those dignitaries who wished to retain the good graces of the sovereign made it their business to accompany him with their numerous servants. Idlers and jacks-of-all-trades also joined the train along the way and fleeced the unlucky natives on whom they paid a visit.

This was indeed a veritable army which spared neither friend nor foe, trampling the crops in their path, looting travelers, and taking by force from the local inhabitants whatever had not been hidden in time.

[551] The men who made up the usual retinue of Kigeri IV Lwabugiri were nicknamed the "Pillagers" (1), owing to their extortions.

1. Their native nickname, Ibitsimbanyi, is a noun derived from the verb gutsimba, which means "to pillage," "to fleece."

644 11. For the sake of completeness, we shall cite the following
768 two customs which the keepers of the traditions assure us were observed in the past. /498/

When the death of a neighboring sovereign, of the Uswi, Urundi, or Karagwe, was announced, the king had to leave his residence and have a new one built (1).

1. Times have changed. The choice of a site and the building of a new "palace" would present too many difficulties today. When the prince of Urundi died, the king merely spent eight days outside his habitual

439 Aside from trade in hides, there is an old, respectable foreign trade. Iron hoes are imported from the Congo state and salt from Lake Edward. These are paid for chiefly in goats. Goats are also used to pay for ivory and rubber smuggled out of the Congo.

438 Internal trade consists above all in the exchange of local products between producer and consumer. Barter is carried on in food, iron, clay products, sheep and goats, salt, etc.

The people of Issawi get their salt from Njaruguru. It is brought there from Urundi. They buy their hoes in Mukinjaga. This province does not manufacture them; they are imported from Bunyabungu. The northern provinces get their iron from Bgisha and their salt from Katana on Lake Edward where salt from Kagwe is sold in large quantities. Salt is also prepared within the country, in Mulera, and, according to Dr. Kandt (1), in a

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 513.

southern bay of Lake Kivu. I do not know whether Busindja salt (2)

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2. Capus, R.P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha and Urundi [A Missionary Journey to Uha and Urundi,]," Petermanns Mitteilungen 1898, p. 185.

which is obtained in Kigoma west of [163] Mumurumba on the southern border of Ujungu, reaches Ruanda.

Copper is imported in small amounts from Urundi and in larger amounts from Busindja in payment for ivory. Goats are exported from Mulera, Kissaka, and Njaruguru. Sheep are exported from Mulera. Mukinjaga produces the prettiest mats. The colored mats of the Batutsi are made in Nduga. Bamboo baskets are made in Bwischascha, Bugoye, and Mulera. Ndorwa exports otter skins. The most beautiful spears and the best arrows are made at Mount Ndisa. All these goods are also traded within the country.

438 484 This trade is conducted by native middlemen who, in contrast to foreign traders (bachuruzi), are known as bagenza. They

438 often set out on journeys lasting several days to visit customers
484 and distant markets. They handle the trade between Mulera, Nduga, and Katana on Lake Edward, and their chief items of exchange are sheep and goats, iron, salt, and tobacco. The Bagoye handle trade between Bugoye and Bunyabungu and exchange large quantities of hoes for goats from Mulera.

123 The Bagoye are unprejudiced traders. For example, when they saw me collecting skulls there, they brought me some to buy. However, no one had the courage to touch a skull. They carried it either on a stick or wrapped in a banana leaf. It was a boy of eleven who first had the idea of demanding payment for skulls. Others followed, even adults, when they saw that the boy was well paid. In a short time they brought in over 200 skulls.

We must point out, however, that not everyone was enthusiastic about these transactions. After more careful investigation, it was discovered that all the skull collectors were people of the lower classes. They were bagaragu (1) of the others and orphans

1. Clients.

who had been taken into individual households as semi-slaves.
[626] After a few days, however, skull collecting stopped altogether, since the boys of the mission refused to eat with anyone who had collected skulls. When this news spread, I could not get any more skulls, and the last collector was thrashed.

The people were very much interested in knowing how much was paid for skulls in Europe.

567 Even today it is said that human beings are exported from Ruanda, not as voluntary emigrants and transient workers, but as slaves. I could find out little about this obscure problem. Since wives [164] are bought, it is very difficult to draw the line between a purchased slave and a purchased wife. In Kissaka the story goes that the Bassuwi come in large numbers to buy women and that they stay in Lukira. They are also said to re-sell the women in Tabora.

Dr. Kandt (1) says that there is a regular slave trade in the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 435.

487 the general direction is maintained. One must often make considerable detours in order to keep to the more frequented, convenient main arteries. This struck me particularly when, in Njakagungu on the way from Lake Mohasi to Nsasa, I crossed the road that led from Ruanda to Karagwe. The paths hug the ridges of the hills, since travel in the valleys is very difficult because of the many swamps. The constant ascent and descent from one ridge to another makes travel very troublesome.

493 The important people of the country are carried in basket litters (ngobi) on their journeys. The litter is like a woven trough. It is made [166] of bamboo sticks (migano) which run lengthwise and are fastened to each other with strips of rattan. The trough has at least three handles on each side through which are inserted two strong bamboo sticks. The bearers carry these sticks on their heads on round cushions. They move at a gentle trot. The occupant of the litter is in a half-reclining position.

●484 The chiefs travel with all the comfort of home; they are, for example, accompanied by two cows (nzishwa) which are milked en route.

[492] Only Europeans ride animals.

491 Until recently bridges were entirely unknown in Ruanda. Now one has been built on land belonging to the Ruasa Mission over the rapids of the Mukungwa which were difficult to cross. Another connects the Issawi Mission with the neighboring hills. It stretches across a swamp.

501 Since ancient times river crossings have been provided with dugouts to ferry travelers. At the Akanjaru ferry near Kihinga, I had an opportunity to see a raft made of reeds and papyrus tied together. The raft was pulled from one shore to the other by means of a rope made out of plaited papyrus. The raft was three meters square and was strong enough to carry seven porters with their loads.

491 The Akanjaru which is one kilometer wide did not have an open surface of water as much as 20 meters wide on which a raft could move. It was a thick papyrus swamp through which we would have had to wade up to our hips at that time if a comfortable crossing had not been built with reeds and papyrus stalks laid next 312 to each other. Small dams are often constructed in the swamps to make a watering place for the cows. If the swamp has a considerable

courtyard at the king's compound, guarded by Batwa. A consecrated elephant tusk is also supposed to be kept there.

During the visit in Nyanza by His Highness the Duke, Musinga climbed into a ngobi at the request of Captain W. Von Grawert. This is the conveyance in which the chiefs are carried on journeys. The king was reluctant to do this, perhaps because he was afraid or because this form of conveyance did not seem to him appropriate to his rank.

While the king is on a journey, his Batwa bearers may get food wherever they wish, for everything is the king's property. That is why Lwabugiri, who was always traveling about, became such a burden to the country. Only the Batwa speak longingly of those days. They accompanied his expeditions, and I often heard them say: "In those days there was a lot of meat. Now Batwa have no standing."

Dr. Hans Meyer says: (1) "...since a sacred tradition forbids

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 347.

him (Musinga) to travel beyond the borders of his central province, he is very limited in his outlook." This statement must be based on a misunderstanding, since the rulers of Ruanda formerly traveled a great deal, and this is spoken of in detail in the legends. In all probability a native told Professor Meyer how much he disliked the troublesome journeys of the king, hoping, perhaps, that by misleading an influential European he might make the king's journeys impossible in the future.

Social Organization. We can distinguish four classes among the population of Ruanda. The privileged class consists of the royal officials. It includes the feudal lords of the king (bagaragu) and their subchiefs with their retinues, as well as the rest of the dignitaries at court. Most of the court officials are also feudal lords; some, however, like the head of the royal smiths, are said to hold no lands.

Among the elect, the highest rank is, of course, held by the family of the king, the Banieginia, and that of the queen mother, the Bega.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

irregular, dependent on circumstances—a good hunt or a generous reward for dancing and singing.

The Tutsi had a strictly controlled attitude towards solid food. They behaved as if the need for nourishment was, if not shameful, at least beneath their dignity. The taking of a meal was something to be done privately. Friends were offered beer or milk, but they were not asked to share a whole meal. When travelling the Tutsi were not supposed to eat solid food and if the journey did not exceed two or even three days, they very often actually did not eat. It is said that a true Tutsi subsists only on milk and beer and some old men take pride in boasting of it. This attitude towards solid food might be explained as an attempt on the part of the conquering pastoralists to stress their independence of the foodstuffs produced by and characteristic of commoners and on a deeper level as an affirmation of what we might term a fundamental difference between themselves and Hutu. The Tutsi, according to their legends, came from another world. They were human beings like the Hutu, but not in quite the same way. This interpretation of the Tutsi attitude to food is supported by their emphasis on greediness in the Hutu character, and gluttony in the Twa. In most of the tales in which Hutu appeared, they were conspicuous by their overeating. For the Twa this feature was still more stressed. Another fact significant in this respect was the very strong prohibition on Hutu servants attending the meals of their Tutsi masters to reveal what they ate. This prohibition was magically sanctioned.

4. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

In the highlands, especially during the rainy season and at night, adequate covering against cold and damp is needed. Boys and girls, however, go completely naked as long as they are *abana* (children), that is up to the age of eight or nine for girls and ten or eleven for boys. As children usually do not go very far from the compounds, they may find some protection against cold either inside the hut or by picking up a skin or blanket. But the great number of diseases of the respiratory organs among children is a sign of their inadequate protection against bad weather.

The traditional Twa garment was a sheep skin. The Hutu wore bark-cloth as a sort of skirt from the waist down to the knees.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

833 [595] under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some 864 parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and 838 flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

831 Later in life, sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not 837 available, it was socially permitted to have another partner 835 (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when [843] she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a [833] minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his [593] travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with [484] them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

548 At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

831 The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasized exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 167-71.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

WTA 14